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TAYLOR (Sir Herbert). Facsimile of Memorandum on illness and
decease of FREDERICK AUGUSTUS, Duke of York and Albany.

TAYLOR, Sir Herbert

Memorandum

Between the 9th June 1826, & 5th January 1827.

The Interest, excited by the Situation of the late Duke of York and by every Circumstance connected with His long, painful, and lingering Illness from its Commencement until the fatal Hour which closed His Valuable Existence, has been so great and the general feeling which it produced has caused so many particulars to be circulated and received by the Public, as authentic, for which there either was no foundation, or at least very imperfect foundation, that I have, upon due Consideration, been induced to draw up, from Minutes taken during this distressing and trying Period of my attendance upon His Royal Highness, a Statement, not of the Progress of the Disease, or of the treatment pursued, but of such Circumstances and Facts as will shew the Condition of H. R. H's mind under this awful Visitation of Providence; will do Justice to the Exemplary Resolution and pious Resignation with which He met

met and submitted to it, and will satisfy His attached Friends that H.R.H. was in every point of view deserving of the Respect and the Affection which have so strongly marked their Sentiments towards Him, and of the deep grief and Regret which His death has occasioned in their Minds and in those of the respectable and well thinking Individuals of every Class in this Country.

The State of H.R. His health had for some time appeared far from satisfactory and had occasioned more or less uneasiness to those about Him, but the first Indications of Serious Indisposition, such as to produce Alarm, were upon H.R. His Return from Ascot to His residence in Audley Square on the 9th of June 1826, and Mr. Macgregor, who then saw Him, urged Him immediately to send for Sir Henry Hallford.

From that period H.R. H. continued more or less an Invalid and was occasionally confined to His House.

Upon the 24th June, H.R. H. removed for Change of Air to Brompton Park, the residence of Mr. Greenwood, who kindly lent it to Him, & upon that day He sent for me, and told me that He had been unwell for some weeks, and that He did not think that He gained ground. That He did not feel alarmed, and that He had perfect confidence

Confidence in the Attention given to His Case and the Skill of His Medical Advisers. But that He knew that They might entertain apprehensions which They would consider it their professional Duty not to Communicate to Their Patients, and He might therefore remain ignorant of that which ought not to be concealed from Him, and which He trusted He should learn without apprehension, altho' He did not deny that He should learn it with regret. -- That there were Duties to be performed and arrangements to be made which ought not to be deferred to the last moment, & He felt that it was due to His Character & Station, to His Comfort and Even to His feelings on this subject, that He should not be taken by surprise upon so serious an occasion. He considered it probable that the Physicians would be less reserved with me than with Him, and He charged me if I should learn from them directly, or should have reason to draw such inference from any Expression that might drop from them, that His Situation had become one of danger, not to withhold such knowledge from Him. -- He appealed to me upon this occasion for an act of Friendship, He would add, for the discharge of a Duty, which He claimed from the Person who had been with Him and Enjoyed His Confidence during so many Years: He called upon me to promise that I would perform it whenever

the Period should arrive to which He alluded &
He desired that I would bear in mind that He wished
me to deal by Him as He was certain I should
desire, under similar Circumstances, to be
dealt with. -

I made the Promise without hesitation
and it was received with a warm Expression
of thanks and an affectionate pressure of the
Hand. -

This was repeated, in allusion to what had
passed at a later period of the Day when He got
into His Carriage to go to Brompton, and He then
said that He felt relieved from great uneasiness
by the Promise I had given Him. -

His Royal Highness removed to Brighton on the
14th August, for the Benefit of further Change of
Air, and I learnt from Mr. Macgregor on the
17th of that Month that a Change had taken
place in His general State, and that Symptoms
had appeared which rendered His Situation one
of danger. -

This distressing Information was confirmed to
me from other Quarters, and I determined im-
-mediately to go to Brighton and to discharge
my Duty, but to be guided in the Character and
Extent of the Disclosure by such further Commu-
-nication as might be made to me by H. R. H's
medical

Medical Attendants of the nature and pressure of the danger - I pleaded business rendering personal Communication necessary for my visit to H. R. H. and I went to Brighton on the 19th August. Upon my arrival I learnt from Mr. Macgregor that a favorable Change had taken place, that H. R. H. had gained strength and that the most alarming symptoms had in great measure subsided, that H. R. H.'s situation might therefore be considered far more encouraging than when he wrote to me, but that it was impossible to consider it free from danger, altho' that danger had ceased to be immediate and altho' there was reason to hope that the Cause of Alarm might be removed - He added that, from observations which H. R. H. had made to himself, he was convinced I would find him prepared for any Communication I might feel it my Duty to make to him, and that, ^{under} all Circumstances, I must exercise my Discretion. -

I then saw the Duke of York, who entered fully into his situation, and told me that altho' much better then, and he believed, going on well, he had reason to think from the manner and look of his Medical Attendants that they had been alarmed, and felt much greater Uneasiness than

than they had expressed or might feel at liberty to express, and He wished to know what I had learnt.

I did not disguise from Him that, bearing in mind the Engagement I had contracted, I had determined to go to Brighton in consequence of the Accounts I had received on the 17th which had alarmed me, but that I was happy to find on my arrival, that H.R.H.'s state had since been improving and that much of the uneasiness which then prevailed had been removed; at the same time it was my Duty to confirm the Impression which He appeared Himself to have received, that His Complaint had assumed a more serious Character, altho' great Confidence appeared to be felt that the extraordinary Resources of His Constitution & the Strength He had gained since His removal to Brighton, would enable Him to struggle successfully with the Disorder. Then said He. I was not mistaken in my suspicions, and my Case is not wholly free from Danger. but I depend upon Your Honor, and you tell me there is more to hope than to fear.

I assured Him that such was decidedly the Impression I had received from what Mr. Macgregor had said to me - He thanked me, and proceeded to look over and give directions upon some official Papers with His usual attention & accuracy. - He

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He saw Mr. Macgregor the same Evening & questioned Him, and He told me on the following day that Mr. M. had answered Him very fairly and had Confirmed what I had said to Him, as did Sir Matthew Tierney later in the Day. -

On that same day He told me that He felt stronger, that His mind was relieved by what had passed, as He knew He should not be deceived or left to form His own Conjectures & draw His own Conclusions from the looks and manner of His Medical attendants & others about Him, and that He had not for months slept so well as the preceding night. -

I repeated to Him, that I had come to Brighton under considerable alarm and that I should leave it very much relieved. H. R. H. was cheerful and I heard from Mr. Macgregor and others that He continued so during the following days - Indeed He wrote to me Himself in very good spirits and assured me of the Comfort and Relief He had derived from the Proof afforded to Him that He would be fairly dealt with. -

H. R. H. returned from Brighton on the Afternoon of the 26th of August, to the Duke of Rutland's House in Arlington Street, having come in 5 1/2 hours - He did not seem much fatigued, Contd.

looked well in the Countenance and conversed cheerfully with Sir Henry Torrens & me, who were in waiting to receive Him.

He afterwards told me that his Strength, Sleep and appetite had improved, but that the Medicines he had taken had ceased to have the desired Effect in checking the progress of the main Disorder, & that he had therefore returned to Town earlier than had been intended in order, as he understood, to try some change of treatment, which he apprehended might be Tapping. This was an unpleasant hearing tho' it did not alarm Him, He was determined to keep up his Spirits, He knew his Situation was a serious one, but he had no doubt, please God, He should recover, tho' He feared his Recovery would be a work of Time.

In the Course of the Conversation I told Him that I had understood Sir Henry Hallford would be in Town on the following Day and did not mean to return to the Country - He observed it was very kind of Him, but immediately added: "by the bye not a very good Sign either" -

He then proceeded very quietly to official Business. But Mr Macgregor coming in, He, in the most calm and collected manner, questioned Him, before

Before me, very closely as to his state, beginning by these words "Tell me honestly, Do You consider me in Danger"? — Not in immediate Danger, was the answer; "But said H. R. H. You do consider My situation to be one not free from danger".

W. Macgregor admitted it to be by no means free from Danger, but proceeded to state the grounds which justified his Medical attendants in indulging Hopes that H. R. H. might look forward to a favorable Issue.

W. Macgregor's answer produced further Questions, all put with a view to obtain positive and accurate Information as to the extent of Danger and he concluded by thanking W. Macgregor for the fair manner in which he had met them & by saying, "I know now what I wished to know & I shall be able to govern myself by that Knowledge". During the whole of this Conversation, which was of some length, his manner was firm & collected tho' very serious, his voice free from agitation, his questions were put quietly at Intervals, as if well Considered by a Man who was determined to ascertain his own situation, and his words were measured.

He afterwards desired me to repeat what W. Macgregor had said, as I understood it, that

He might be satisfied He had not mistaken him. I did so and He observed that He also had so understood Him, but that He did not augur from it that His Case was hopeless, which Impression I confirmed - He expressed an Earnest hope that the Symptoms of His disorder were not generally known or talked of. -

I have been thus particular in the Statement of what passed upon these three occasions to shew how anxious H. R. H. was not to be kept in the dark, how fearfully He met the Communication of the Existence of Danger & above all to shew that He was Early apprized of His Critical State, from the Contemplation of which He at no time shrunk, altho' He was at all times anxious to conceal from the generality of those who approached Him that He did not look forward with undiminished Confidence to a favorable Issue. -

On the following Day, Sunday 27th August, H. R. H. again spoke to me very quietly in regard to His Situation, and told me that although not alarmed, and although He had heard nothing that should shake His hopes of ultimate Recovery, He could not conceal from Himself that His Situation called for serious contemplation. Whatever might be the result there would be time for certain

certain arrangements, and the settlement of his affairs, but there was one Duty He did not wish to defer, He felt indeed that it ought not to be deferred until it should seem to be imposed by a Conviction of immediate danger, and resorted to when Hope had ceased to assist. He had therefore determined to take the Sacrament upon an Early day and to request His Friend the Bishop of London to administer it to Him, but He was anxious that this should not be known, as the alarm would be sounded and various Interpretation. would be put upon an Act which was one of Duty, resorted to on principle and not from apprehension or affectation; He therefore directed me to see the Bishop of London & to request Him to come to Him on the following Tuesday at 12. He desired that I would explain to Him, His desire that the attendance should be quiet and should not excite observation, that He wished the Service to be simply that of the Communion as He did not now apply to Him for His attendance as upon a Sick Person - He also desired me to be present and to take the Sacrament with Him. -

He told me that He had well Considered this Act. - He was sure that, under any Circumstances it would tend to His satisfaction, Comfort & Relief, &

said that He ought not to postpone it.

I went to the Bishop of London (at Fulham) who received the Communication with great Emotion and spoke in the highest terms of the Exemplary feeling which had dictated H. R. H.'s wish, and said that He would come quietly to Arlington Street on Tuesday at 12. without Robes (as upon ordinary occasions) and without notice to any one, and I engaged to have all prepared.

I returned to Arlington Street to inform H. R. H. & it was agreed that his servant, Batchelor, should alone be apprized of the Intention, & that I should take Care to keep others out of the way. - H. R. H. again said that He should derive great Comfort from thus early discharging His Duty. - He also gave me instructions to clear His Drawers in Audley Square of Papers, and to bring them away & seal up those of a private nature - He said He should by degrees look them over & attend to other matters, but repeatedly assured me that all this was done, and thought of without any apprehension of a fatal Issue of His Disorder, & that He was Confident He should recover. -

The Princess Sophia (who usually came Every day about Two O'clock) had been with Him and asked Him whether She was aware of His Situation. - He said He believed not, at least

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He had said nothing to alarm Her, possibly however she might be to a certain extent, and He had therefore said nothing to undecieve Her...

When I saw Batchelor I learnt from him (what I had never previously known) that H. R. H. when He did not go to Church, never missed devoting some time to His Prayers, which He read to Himself, in general Early that He might not be disturbed, but if disturbed in the Morning, in the Afternoon or Evening, and that when travelling on Sunday, He always took a Bible & Prayer Book in the Carriage and was very particular as to their being placed within His immediate reach, and that altho' He did not object to a travelling Companion on other days, nothing annoyed Him more than any one proposing to be His Companion on a Sunday.

H. R. H. saw Sir Henry Hallford on that day and questioned Him very closely as to His situation - Sir Henry told me that He had answered His questions fairly, & that He had found H. R. H. in an Excellent state of mind and that He could not sufficiently admire the Resolution & Composure with which He sought for Information, and dwelt upon the Question of Danger. He observed that there was no difficulty in dealing with such a Patient.

D. R. H. told me afterwards that Sir Henry Hallford's Communication had confirmed the Impression he had received from what Mr. Macgregor had said, and he expressed himself perfectly satisfied with it.

D. R. H. continued in good spirits, and in the same composed state of mind on the 28th & 29th.

On the latter day the Bishop of London came at a little before 12, and D. R. H. was alone with him for a short time, after which I was called in, and His Lordship administered the Sacrament to us.

The Duke's deportment was serious as became the occasion, but firm and quite free from agitation - He did not appear nervous or affected, altho' he must have perceived that neither the Bishop or I were free from either feeling.

The Bishop of London told me afterwards that nothing could be more correct or satisfactory than all D. R. H. had said to him when they were alone, & that his state of mind was that in which he would wish, under such circumstances, to find that of any Person in whose welfare he felt interested -

When I returned to the Duke of York, he appeared more affected and assured me that he felt a Comfort & Relief which he could not describe, and

and that whatever might be the Issue of His Illness He had done what He ought to do. That He could now attend to other matters with increased Composure.

In the afternoon when I saw Him again, He expressed to me how much He had been pleased with the Bishop of London's mild and Encouraging Discourse.

That He had stated to His Lordship unreservedly that He knew His situation to be a very serious, though He trusted not a hopeless one, but that He did not chuse to postpone a Duty which He conceived ought to be performed while He was in the full Possession of His Faculties, which might yield to Disease sooner than He was aware of. - That He had in the Course of His Life faced Death in various shapes and was now doomed to view its approach in a slow and lingering form. - That He did not deny that He should resign His Existence with regret, tho' He felt no alarm. He admitted that His life had not been pure, that there had been much in His Course He wished had been otherwise. - He had not thought so seriously on some subjects as He might have done, still He had Endeavoured to discharge His Public Duties correctly. He had forborne from ^{injuring}

injuring or deceiving any one, and he felt
in Peace and Charity with all.

Under these circumstances he hoped he might
look with Confidence to Mercy, through the Merits
of his Redeemer, and he had appealed to him
the Bishop, on this occasion not only to receive
the Confession of his unworthiness but to ad-
minister that Comfort which his Situation
required - That his Reliance and his Faith in
the Christian Religion were firm & decided, and
that his adherence to the pure Doctrine professed
and Established in this Country was unshaken,
as it had ever been. That, as he had declared
these Sentiments in a Political Discussion of the
Question, he was anxious that it should be under-
stood, and that the Bishop of London should
be enabled to state hereafter, if the occasion
should call for it, that those Sentiments were
not professed in a political sense and from
Prejudice and party feelings, but that they
were firmly fixed in his mind and were the
Result of due Consideration and Conviction
and produced by an Earnest Solicitude for the
Continued Welfare of his Country. -

After saying this H. R. H. told me that he felt
very comfortable, and that if it should please
God to restore him to Health, he was sure he should

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Should be a better Man Ever after. He Considered this Trial as a Mercy for which He ought to feel grateful it afforded Him time for serious reflection, and He trusted that the time would not be ill applied. He then entered into some Questions of Military Business with great Composure.

H. B. Anderson went the operation of Tapping on the afternoon of the 3rd Sept^r. It was performed by Mr. Macgregor and it was borne by H. B. A. with the same Resolution & quiet Composure which had marked His Conduct under every stage of His Illness. Col. Stephenson and I saw Him soon after. We found Him a little exhausted but cheerful, and quite free from nervous agitation.

About this period He received the communication of the Death of Sir Harry Calvert, by which He was much affected and He observed that He had deeply to deplore the loss of an old and attached friend and a religious and good Man.

For some days after the operation, He was very weak and His left Leg was in a State which occasioned serious uneasiness, nor was the appearance of the other Leg satisfactory. on the 10th He examined the Contents of some private Boxes and desired that they might be left in His Room. He was however as usual assigned to my Charge. His situation gave His Medical Attendants to

serious uneasiness and H. R. H. was perfectly sensible of it, nor indeed did I disguise it from him, when he questioned me -

Between the 12th and the 18th H. R. H. gained strength, and his appetite and sleep improved but the state of his legs continued unsatisfactory.

On the 19th he began again to take his airings but the improvement had not been such as to induce his medical attendants to consider his state otherwise than very critical. He continued to take daily airings until the 16th October - During this interval he rallied occasionally, and his general health appeared at times to be improving, notwithstanding the state of the legs, which became gradually more unsatisfactory, and often occasioned excruciating pain throughout great part of the day.

H. R. H. frequently spoke to me of his own situation and feelings, more especially on the 22nd Sept^r when he told me he did his best to submit with patience and resignation; that he tried to keep up his spirits, he met his friends cheerfully, endeavoured to go correctly thro' what he had to do and to occupy himself at other times with reading, but when left to his own thoughts, when he went to bed and lay awake, the situation was not agreeable: the contemplation of ones End, not

not to be met at once, nor within a short given Period, but protracted possibly for months, requiring a struggle & tried one's Resolution. But after all, He did not know that He regretted it, or that He regretted that time was given to Him which had turned His mind to serious Reflection and which He was certain had been very beneficial to Him - If it should please God that He should recover He would become a better man, if He did not recover, He would have to thank God for the time afforded for reflection.

I have noticed what passed on this day to shew that His feelings had undergone no change.

On the 16th October Mr. Macgregor desired that I should convey to H. R. H. his wish that He would allow him to call in Sir Astley Cooper: that I should state that he had no reason to doubt H. R. H. Confidence, but that a heavy Responsibility was thrown upon him, and that it might be satisfactory to H. R. H. - it doubtless would be to himself to resort to further aid and advice, as the state of the Legs had unfortunately formed so prominent a feature of the Case: At the same time He was persuaded that Sir A. Cooper would concur in all that He had done - When I mentioned it to H. R. H. He

objected

objected and assured me that He was perfectly satisfied with Mr. Macgregor's Skill and his attention, and that He would not, upon any account, appear to shew a doubt which He had never felt, nor hurt Mr. Macgregor's feelings. I assured Him that Mr. Macgregor was perfectly sensible of this, but that He owed it to His own feelings, and to His Character as a Professional Man to make this request; H. R. H. then objected to the Effect it might produce upon the Public, to its getting into the Newspapers &c; I observed that Measures might be taken to prevent this, and He finally agreed to Mr. Macgregor speaking to Sir Henry Balfour and settling it with Him.

Sir A. Cooper attended accordingly on the 17th & continued to do so during the remainder of H. R. H.'s Illness. Notwithstanding every precaution it was impossible to prevent it being soon noticed in the Papers, and when H. R. H. learnt this, He observed that His chief Motive for wishing it concealed was the apprehension that it might excite unnecessary alarm which, as connected with His Station & Situation, might embarrass the Government and possibly influence the Public Funds. It could not affect Him personally.

H. R. H.'s State fluctuated again between this period

period and the 6th Nov^r when there was a marked Improvement in the Condition of the Legs, which Continued until the 20th when they again assumed an unfavorable appearance, which was the more to be lamented, as H. P. H.'s Strength and Constitutional powers had been giving way, His appetite and Sleep began to fail, and the Increasing Evil was therefore to be met by impaired Resources.

Towards the beginning of Dec^r H. P. H. again rallied, so far as the Legs were concerned, but His Frame & His Constitution had Evidently become weaker, and H. P. H. Himself expressed His apprehensions that His Strength would not Carry Him through the protracted Struggle.

Between the 8th & 17th Dec^r there was again a Sensible Improvement in the Legs, which might have raised the Hopes of H. P. H.'s attendants, if the return of Strength had kept pace with it; but He was visibly losing Strength & Sub-
-stance, and on the 20th the Legs resumed the appearance of mortification to an alarming extent, and the Medical attendants agreed that His situation had become very critical.

Their apprehensions were still further excited on the 22^d - His appetite had totally failed Him, and other symptoms were

equally unfavorable - Still He kept up His Spirits, and altho' my Language was any thing but Encouraging, He appeared to feel sanguine of Recovery - This Impression was not justified by the opinion of the Medical Attendants, and I became very anxious that H. R. H. should be made aware of the Increased danger of His Situation. I urged this point with Sir Henry Hallford, and Sir Astley Cooper, assured them that they mistook H. R. H.'s character if they apprehended any ill Effect from the disclosure, and represented that it was due to His Character, and to His wish to discharge the Duties which He still had to perform. - In the course of the Day they yielded to my Representations, and authorized me to avail myself of any opening which H. R. H. might give me to make Him sensible of the Increased anxiety and alarm which I had observed in His Physicians. I was to use my Discretion as to the Mode, the Nature, and the Extent of the Disclosure; it would probably produce reference to them, and they would then confirm the Impression conveyed by me.

I saw H. R. H. at 5 o'Clock when I took my official papers to Him. He gave me the desired opportunity at once, by asking what the Doctors said of Him. His Servant being in the Room I

I gave no immediate answer, and he waited quietly until he had left the Room and then repeated the question. —

I spoke to him as had been agreed with Sir Henry Hallford, adding that my own anxiety and the uneasiness I had already expressed to him, had led me to watch the Physicians, and to endeavour to extract from them what their real opinion was, but that they were cautious and were evidently unwilling to authorize me to express their alarm. I could not however forget H. R. H.'s appeal to me in Audley Square, nor the Pledge I had given him; that I knew H. R. H. did not wish to be taken by surprise, that I felt he ought not to be taken by surprise, and therefore I had considered it my duty to disclose to him the uneasiness I felt. — He listened with Composure and without betraying any agitation, but asked me whether the danger was immediate, whether it was a question of Days. —

I repeated that I was not authorized to say so, and I trusted it was not. — He said "God's will be done, I am not afraid of dying, I trust. — I have done my Duty, I have endeavoured to do so. I know that my faults have been many, but God is merciful, His ways are inscrutable."

"I bow with submission to His will. I have at least not to reproach Myself with not having done all I could to avert this Crisis. But I own it has come upon me by surprise; I knew that my Case had not ceased to be free from Danger, I have always been told so, but I did not suspect immediate Danger and had I been a timid or a nervous Man, the Effect might have been trying. - I trust I have received this communication with becoming Resolution." I observed that I had not for many Days seen H. R. H. more free from nervous agitation and that I had not been disappointed in my Expectation that He would hear this Communication as He did that which I had been called upon to make to Him at Brighton. He desired me to feel His Pulse, which was low, but even & steady.

He then put various Questions to me, with a view to ascertain the Causes of what He considered so sudden a Change in His State. I accounted for it by what I had learnt from the Physicians and ended by repeating that I had felt it my duty, however painful, to speak out. He thanked me, gave me His hand, and said I had acted as I ought, and as He expected, but He pressed me again to state "what was the Extent of

"of the Danger, and whether immediate." I repeated that I had been assured it was not immediate; "whether His Case was without Hope of Recovery?" - I gave no decided answer, but said that I could not extract from the Physicians any positive opinion, but that their Language was not Encouraging. He said "I understand You; I may go on for a short time but I may end rapidly; God's will be done, I am resigned." He then called for His official Papers, and transacted His Business with Composure and His usual Attention. He afterwards resumed the previous painful subject. I spoke to Him about His Private Papers, and He confirmed some of the Directions previously given to me upon that subject.

He then spoke most kindly, took me again by the hand and said "Thank You, God bless You." I had hitherto succeeded in controuling my feelings, but I could do so no longer, and I left the Room.

I learnt from His Servant, Batchelor, that after I left H. R. H., He had desired Him to collect and pay some small Bills; that He began to write some Memoranda, and appeared very serious, but quite free from agitation.

H. R. H. afterwards had some serious conversation

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with Sir Henry Halford, who did not disguise from him the uneasiness he felt, but did not admit that his Case had become hopeless. - He had found him perfectly calm & composed.

M. B. H. sent for me again and repeated to me very correctly what Sir H. Halford had said to him; He afterwards saw Col. Stephenson who told me that he had conversed with him very quietly upon indifferent subjects and that, from his manner, he could not have suspected that any thing could have occurred to disturb him.

He passed a good night, and appeared better on the following day. - He saw the adjutant General and Quarter Master General early and gave his directions to them with his usual accuracy. I saw him soon after & he told me that he had passed a good night, had rather more appetite and was more free from pain; that this was satisfactory for the moment, but whether of any ultimate avail a higher Power would decide.

The Physicians told me there was no improvement in his situation. -

In the course of the day I submitted to him the official Papers, and took his pleasure upon some general Military arrangements into which he entered with interest, but in the afternoon he became very languid and nervous, tho' he rallied.

retired again towards the Evening.

On the following day 24th December, He appeared better and in good spirits, tho' incapable of much exertion.

On the 25th He was weaker, having had a very indifferent night. He saw the Duke of Wellington early in the day. The Physicians told me that H. R. H.'s state was becoming daily more critical and that it was desirable that I should avail myself of any opportunity which might offer of drawing H. R. H.'s attention to the necessity of settling his affairs. I embraced it that very day and proposed to Him to send for his Solicitor, Mr. Parkinson, to which He agreed and I appointed Him at 10 O'clock on the following Day; He afterwards went thro' his official Business very quietly.

H. R. H. saw Mr. Parkinson on the 26th and signed his Will, after which He shook hands with him, as if taking final leave of Him. He afterwards saw the Bishop of London, who had at all times free admission to H. R. H. and had had frequent Conversations with Him in the Course of His Illness, and the Result of this Interview was, that H. R. H. should take the Sacrament on the 28th, which H. R. H. mentioned to me afterwards, adding that He meant to ask the Princess Sophia to take it with Him. I saw Him again.

the Evening and He appeared very cheerful.
On the 27th He appeared better. Early in the day,
but became more weak and languid afterwards.

He saw Mr. Peel, who told me he had been much
shocked by H. R. H.'s altered appearance. The
Duke however spoke to me of Himself in a more
sanguine tone than usual.

His Majesty Came to H. R. H. in the afternoon
and found Him very weak and languid, but
He rallied in the Evening and looked over His
Official Papers.

On the Morning of the 28th H. R. H. appeared
very weak and had some attacks of nervous
faintness, which, together with other unfavorable
Symptoms satisfied the Physicians that the Danger
was becoming more imminent. The Bishop
of London Came at 12, and desired that Three
Persons should assist at the Holy Ceremony, and
proposed that Sir Henry Hallford and I should
be added to the Princeps Sophia, which was men-
tioned to H. R. H. who readily agreed. Upon
this occasion He came publicly, and put on
His Robes. — H. R. H. was quite composed, &
nothing could exceed His pious attention &
calm devotion throughout the solemn Ceremony.
— He repeated the Prayers and made the
Reponses in a firm voice. Part of the Prayers for

for the Sick were read, but the Service was, at the suggestion of Sir H. Halford, the Short Service.

- The Bishop was very much affected, particularly when pronouncing the Concluding Blessing. The Princess Sophia supported herself wonderfully throughout the trying scene, and the Duke was quite free from agitation. - after the Service was over He kissed His Sister and shook hands most affectionately with the Bishop, Sir H. Halford & me, thanking us, and as if taking leave of all. H. B. H. sent for me again in the afternoon, and went thro' some official Business to which He appeared quite equal. He expressed great satisfaction at having taken the Sacrament, and told me that the Princess Sophia had staid with Him, and borne up to the last Moment. - He then asked me whether His Physicians thought much worse of Him; He really felt better. - I replied they considered His situation as having become more doubtful than it had been, but that they had not at any time authorized me to say His Case was hopeless. He observed that He thought it was wrong to abandon hope, or to despair, but, setting aside that feeling, He was resigned to God's will. - He asked whether I had any more Papers requiring consideration, as He felt quite as

as equal to Business as he had been for 2 or 3 months past, and he wished none to be interrupted or suspended.

He afterwards saw Mr. Greville who found him very cheerful.

He sent for me again between 8 and 9 and I staid with him until 10. He appeared weak and uncomfortable, tho' not positively in pain. At 10 - He said he should like to go to Bed but the usual hour had not arrived and he would wait for Sir St. Halford. I persuaded him to go to Bed at once. This was the first night that he had anticipated the usual hour, and the Medical attendants ascribed it to increasing weakness, against which he had hitherto contended. - All agreed that he might linger on a few days, unless an attack of nervous faintness should carry him off suddenly.

On the following Day the 29th H.M.H. after passing a tolerable Night, appeared better. - He had taken some nourishment and his Pulse was steady. He sent for me soon after 10, and spoke very seriously of his situation, but without alarm or agitation. He appeared very desirous of extracting very direct and unreserved answers; often fixed his eye upon me, as if to search my thoughts, and made me change

change my Position that He might see me better. - I appeared not to notice this but kept up the Conversation for 1 1/2 hour on various subjects of Business &c. - This succeeded & He gradually became more at His Ease. - He was quite equal to any Exertion of Mind. - When Sir H. Halford came, He announced to H. R. H. the King's Intention to pay Him a visit on that day, and H. R. H. dressed and shaved Himself, which He had not been able to do on the preceding Day.

The Physicians told me that the State of the Legs had become more unfavorable. H. R. H. saw the Adjutant General, and Quarter Master General and transacted Business with them as usual.

His Majesty Came at Two, and staid an hour with H. R. H. His Majesty thought Him looking better, and stronger than on the 27th, but this was the last time He saw Him, His Majesty's own Indisposition having disappointed His anxious wish to have come again to Him.

H. R. H. sent for me at 5, and went thro' His usual official Business with me, after which He appeared tired and exhausted & indeed He had previously retired to His Bed Room -

He afterwards saw Col. Stephenson who found him in the same weak & Exhausted State.

Towards 9 He sent for me again and I found him much oppressed and breathing short, & in general unable to rouse himself. He dismissed me after a short time, wishing me good night, but between 10 and 11, - He sent for me again; I found him dozing & when he roused himself, He complained of inward Pain, asked me how late I should stay in the House (He was not aware that I had slept in it for several nights) and again wished me good night. -

He had called for Sir H. Hallford, Mr. Macgregor & Mr. Simpson repeatedly in the same manner and after wishing them good night. Some time after He again sent for Mr. Macgregor, who found him in one of his attacks of nervous faintness. - Mr. Macgregor gave him some Laudanum, and after some time He became more composed and fell asleep. -

I learnt Early in the Morning of the 30th from Mr. Macgregor that H. P. H. had had some sleep at intervals, but that He appeared much weaker and that there were other indications of increasing danger. - H. P. H. had determined not to quit His Bed Room.

He

He sent for me at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10, and I remained with him for more than an hour until Sir H. Halford came. - I was extremely shocked at the extraordinary change which had taken place in one night or rather since the preceding morning at the same hour. He appeared extremely feeble and under great uneasiness from pain, but otherwise composed, and altho' suffering so much he uttered no complaint. He asked me when I had come and I told him I had slept in the House. - He did not seem surprised or displeased, but said he concluded he was considered much worse, for Mr. Macgregor had been three times to see him in the night. But that he felt quite equal to business. I therefore brought forward a few subjects and received his very clear instructions tho' his voice had become so feeble that I could with difficulty hear him. -

H. B. H. saw the Dukes of Clarence & Sussex, and Sir William Knighton who was going to Windsor, and thro' whom he sent an affectionate message to the King - To the Dukes of Clarence & Sussex he spoke cheerfully on the state of Portugal and other matters of Public Interest. The Princess Sophia was also with him for a considerable time.

Between

Between 9 and 10, He expressed a wish to see Col. Stephenson and me, and we went to Him, but He said little and wished us good night.

He passed a restless night and appeared much weaker on the following morning (the 31st Dec^r) but continued perfectly sensible, took nourishment, when offered to Him, but shewed no inclination to speak, unless spoken to. His Medical attendants apprehended from the increased weakness, the rapid approach of Dissolution. I went to Him by desire of the Physicians between one and two. He took my hand and received me most kindly. He said, "Here I am, I feel weaker but not worse and I do not suffer Pain". He moved his lips occasionally but I could not distinguish what He said. He appeared quite sensible, very Composed, and twice looked at me, the first time seriously, the second time with a placid, almost a cheerful smile, and came away perfectly satisfied that His mind was free from anxiety and uneasiness. The Princess Sophia came in and the manner in which He roused Himself when she was announced was very striking. Her R. H. stood with Him about 20 minutes. He continued very quiet throughout the rest of the

the day, and at 1/2 past 7, desired Sir A. Cooper who was going to Windsor, to give his affectionate Duty to the King, and to tell Him, He was very comfortable.

On the 1st January, I learnt that H. B. H. had passed a very quiet night, with four hours good sleep, and that no material change had taken place in His State: That He continued perfectly sensible, took sufficient nourishment and spoke whenever roused, nor were the Legs in a worse state; on the contrary their appearance had become more favorable.

Upon the whole the Physicians thought He might linger on longer than they had expected, such was the Extraordinary Resistance which His Constitution opposed to the Progress of the Disease. — The Dukes of Clarence and Sussex again saw Him, and He received Them affectionately but did not speak, and they left Him immediately. The Princess Sophia then went to Him; He kissed Her and said "God bless you my dear Love, Tomorrow, Tomorrow", and she left Him. He continued in the same quiet and composed state throughout the day, and occasionally told His Medical Attendants that he felt no pain and

was very Comfortable. I did not see Him.

The Report on the following Morning, the 2^d January, was that the King had been quiet and that He continued free from Pain and perfectly sensible, tho' He seldom spoke. Soon after Nine, He had a shivering attack which was very alarming, and His Pulse was hardly perceptible, but He rallied. He had been moved nearer to the window, was quite Himself, and asked whether the Day was not a Frost, which was the case. He became slightly delirious at 20 Minutes past one, & other symptoms had become more alarming. Still He was quite sensible at Intervals. The Princess Sophia was with Him for a short time, and He knew Her.

The Dukes of Clarence & Sussex who came in the afternoon did not see Him. H.R.H. continued nearly in the same State, except that His Pulse had been gradually lowering and His Breathing becoming very short, and His situation appeared so critical, that I, & other attendants in the House, determined not to take off our clothes.

The Street was crowded with people throughout the day, not apparently assembled from curiosity, but from anxiety; extremely quiet and

and hardly speaking except to Enquire in a subdued voice, what was the state of H. R. H. —

I learnt at 6 on the following morning (the 3^d) from Mr. Macgregor that notwithstanding a restless and uncomfortable night, H. R. H. had rallied, and appeared then stronger more inclined to talk & to take nourishment than he had been on the preceding day, and that it was impossible to calculate when the Crisis would arrive. His Pulse also had become more steady — The other Medical Attendants confirmed this at a later hour and observed that H. R. H.'s extraordinary Powers of Constitution, & Tenacity of Life defied all Calculation. — The Princess Sophia, being unwell, could not come this day: the Dukes of Clarence and Sussex came at 12, and staid until 6, but did not see their Brother.

Sir Wm Knighton having come from Windsor and been named to H. R. H., He desired to see him that he might Enquire after the King, and requested him to assure His Majesty of his affectionate Duty.

Towards the evening H. R. H. shewed symptoms of returning strength, and the

Physicians reported to His Majesty, that He continued in the same state, without appearance of immediate Dissolution, but without Hope. Between 11 & 12 He was very quiet and inclined to sleep.

The Assemblage of People in Arlington Street was the same as on the preceding Day, there was the same propriety of Conduct, the same Manifestation of affectionate Interest, free from Curiosity.

H. R. H. passed a very restless Night, with occasional Attacks of Faintness & Spasm. His breathing had become more difficult, His Pulse more feeble and irregular, but yet there were no Symptoms of rapidly approaching dissolution. — Sir Botley Cooper had set up with Him to relieve Mr. Macgregor and when the latter went to H. R. H., He desired Him to thank Him, and say He was very kind.

Shortly after He saw some one near Him & Mr. Macgregor told Him it was Mr. Simpson, and H. R. H. said Mr. Simpson is a good man. He took some slight nourishment occasionally, and towards 10. O'clock He had a serious Attack of Faintness, during which His Pulse was hardly perceptible, but He rallied again. Sir Wm. H. W. saw H. R. H. but He did not

not speak to Him.

Between one and Two, Mr. Macgregor came to tell me that H. R. H. had named me frequently and at last made them understand that he wished to see me: I immediately went to Him. I found Him dreadfully changed, very feeble, much oppressed, & evidently unable to distinguish objects clearly. - Batchelor named me to Him and I sat down close by His right side - He looked at me with a kind smile, took me by the hand, and I told Him I had not left the House since I had last seen Him. He asked me with difficulty and in a faint tho' steady voice, whether Col. Stephenson was in the House - I said He was, and asked whether He wished to see Him; He nodded assent, and I immediately sent for Him. Col. Stephenson went to His left side, but, as H. R. H. could not see Him, I beckoned to Him to come to the Right side, and I moved back so as to enable Him to come close up, while I supported H. R. H. by placing my hand against the Pillow behind His Back. - He then gave His Hand to Col. Stephenson. After some Interval, during which H. R. H. breathed with great difficulty and was very faint and nervous which Batchelor

His Temples with Cologne Water, He collected
His Strength, and said in a steady, firm tone
of voice, but so low as to be hardly audible
to Col. Stephenson, whose Head was further
removed than mine, "I am now dying".
After this he dropped His Head, and His Lips
moved for about a Minute, as if in Prayer.
He then looked at us again and appeared
to wish to speak, but an Attack of Faintness
came on, and His Respiration was so difficult
and He seemed so weak and exhausted, that
I thought He was dying, and expressed that
apprehension to Col. Stephenson who partook
of it. — Batchelor bathed His Temples again
and He rallied, after which He again took
Col. Stephenson's Hand & nodded to Batchelor
who told us He meant we should leave Him.

The Scene was most affecting and trying,
but yet in some respects satisfactory, as it
shewed that He was perfectly aware of His
situation, and we concluded that He had
seen us together, as being His Executors, and
meant to take leave of us. — I heard after-
wards that He had appeared much exhaus-
ted by the effort, but subsequently took some
Chicken Broth and became composed, with-
out having any Return of Faintness. I am to the

the Evening He rallied again & had some sound and Comfortable Sleep, and His attendants separated under the Impression that H. R. H.'s Life would be prolonged at least another Night.

In the course of the night He had so serious an attack of Faintness that Mr. Macgregor thought He would not have recovered from it, but He rallied again towards the Morning of the 5th and had taken some nourishment.

The Breathing had however become extremely difficult. - About 11. Mr. Simpson came to me to say that the Symptoms of approaching Death had come on, and that the Medical attendants wished me to be in the Room adjoining to that in which H. R. H. lay. I brought in the Dukes of Clarence & Sussex and Col. Stephenson, and we continued in the Room, expecting every moment to be called in by the Medical attendants (who were all with H. R. H.) to witness His Death. - Sir H. Hallford came to us occasionally, and stated that H. R. H.'s Pulse was hardly perceptible, His Extremities were cold, He was speechless, and had with difficulty swallowed a little Milk & Rum, but nevertheless appeared to retain His Senses. - Of this indeed He gave Proof at 12, for Mr. Macgregor came

came in to say that H. R. H. had insisted on having his legs dressed (which they naturally wished to avoid at such a period), for he had looked at him several times, had pointed at the Clock, then at his Legs, and had pushed off the Covering, thus shewing his determination to go thro' all that was required to the last moment.. When he found that he was understood & that Mr. Macgregor was preparing for the Dressing; he signified his Thanks to him with a kind smile, threw back his Head & hardly noticed anything afterwards.

The Pulse became more feeble, the attacks of faintness more frequent, but H. R. H. struggled on, and between 8 and 9 this State appeared so likely to last for some hours that the Duke of Clarence was persuaded to go Home, and I returned to my Room to answer some inquiries... At 20 Minutes past 9, Col. Stephenson called me out and told me that he was in the last agonies. I hastened down, but my dear Master had expired before I could reach his Room, and I had the comfort of learning that he had expired without any struggle or apparent pain. - His Countenance indeed confirmed this, it was as calm as possible

possible, and quite free from any Distortion; indeed it almost looked as if He had died with a Smile upon it.

The Medical Attendants, the Duke of Sussex, Batchelor, & another Servant were in the Room looking at Him in Silence and with Countenances strongly expressive of their Feelings.

Such was the End of this amiable, kind, and excellent Man, after a long and painful Struggle, borne with Exemplary Resolution, and Resignation; and I am confident that the Details into which I have entered of the last Circumstances of that Struggle, will not prove uninteresting to those who were sincerely attached to Him.

I feel that I owe it to H. R. H's Character to add some general observations which may serve to place it in its true light, and to confirm the opinion of those who view His Loss as a National Calamity.

It may be necessary to premise that from the moment that I had received the alarming report from Brighton, I ceased to entertain any sanguine Hopes of H. R. H's Recovery, & that my Expectation of it became gradually more

more faint, altho' they varied occasionally, as the symptoms of the Disorder fluctuated.

This Impression led to my keeping the Minutes from which I have extracted the foregoing statement; my object in so doing, being, that I might be better able, from such accurate source, to do Justice to H. R. H.'s character and sentiments.

The 30th Dec^r was the last day on which I submitted any Papers, & He was then quite equal to my Business, for altho' His state varied in the course of the Day, yet there were hours when Physical Causes, or the Effect of Medicine did not interfere with the clear application of the powers of the mind.

It has been already shewn by the Details I have produced that almost to the latest Hour

H. R. H. was anxious to discharge His official Duties, and the Interest He took in them was at no time weakened by the Pressure of Bodily

Disease or Pain. In further Proof of this I may state that on Saturday the 9th Dec^r I received from Lord Bathurst at His Office secret In-

structions respecting the Force to be prepared for Embarkation for Portugal, and that I communicated them in the same Evening to H. R. H. — He was then in great pain but He became indifferent to Bodily suffering and immediately

immediately drew up the Heads of the Military arrangement (which Paper in His own Writing I now possess) from which were framed the detailed Instructions approved by Him on the following Day & issued on Monday the 11th Decr.

This Measure naturally produced the necessity of other arrangements connected with Home Service & the Adjutant General, & Quarter Master General will bear me out in the assertion that these were entered into and directed by Him with the same Intelligence and attention which He had manifested on previous occasions, when we are bound to state that every arrangement was made by Him, & that the Execution of the Details was alone left to us.

It may not be irrelevant here to observe that this had at all times been the Case; H. R. H. had been at the Head of the Army more than 32 Years; during that period various officers were successively employed by Him in the Situations of Military Secretary, and at the Heads of Departments at the Horse Guards, and they possessed His Confidence and exerted themselves zealously. But the merit of rescuing the Army from its impaired Condition, of improving, establishing, and

maintaining its System, of introducing that Administration of it, in principle and in every detail, which has raised the Character of the British Service, and promoted its Efficiency, belongs exclusively to His late Royal Highness. — The work was progressive, but His attention to it, His able superintendence of it were constant. He guided and directed the labours of those subordinate to Him. — Their task was execrative. He gave the Impulse to the whole Machinery, and kept the wheels in motion and so Him, I repeat it the Credit was due —

An arrangement for the Promotion of the old Subalterns of the Army had long been the object of His solicitude but it was one of difficult accomplishment, as it was understood that no measure entailing extraordinary charge on the Public would be admitted.

Hence the delay in bringing it forward.

But His Royal Highness entered into every detail of it on the 21st Dec^r and the King having paid Him a visit on the 27th He ordered one to submit it to His Majesty on that day when it remained.

the Royal Signature; & the Communication of His Majesty's gracious approbation of this arrangement was received by H.R.H. with a warm Expression of Satisfaction.

Of the Resolution and Resignation with which H.R.H. submitted to protracted confinement & a painful Disorder, my Statement offers ample proof, but I have not stated that during all this period, during this serious Trial, His excellent Temper & kind Disposition to all who approached Him continued unimpaired. I appeal to His Medical Attendants, I appeal to His Servants, to those who transacted Business with Him, Official or Personal, whether, at any time, He betrayed a Symptom of Irritability, whether a sharp word escaped Him, whether a Murmur or Complaint was uttered. Every attention, from whatever Quarter, was kindly received and gratefully acknowledged, great anxiety was shown by Him to avoid giving trouble, and at the later Periods of His Illness, that which seemed to distress Him most, was His being reduced to the necessity of requesting others to do for Him that which He had ceased to be able to do for Himself.

Of the kind attention of His Medical Attendants, and

and their anxiety to afford to Him the utmost Benefit of their Skill. He expressed himself most sensible, and it is due to them to say, that if He had been their nearest and dearest Relative, they could not have devoted their Time, Care and attention to Him, with more affectionate Zeal than they did. Nor did He ever betray any want of Confidence in their Skill, or the least desire to resort to other advice.

I must add that I can positively state, having been admitted freely to their Consultations, that no difference of opinion prevailed among them, they acted together cordially, and their only Object seemed to be the Welfare of their Illustrious Patient.

During the Progress of His Illness, H.R.H. received the most endearing and affectionate Attention from the King, and from His Brothers & Sisters; and they never failed to be acknowledged with satisfaction and with Gratitude. The Princess Sophia especially, whose near Residence admitted of more frequent Intercourse, never missed coming to Him in the Course of the Day, unless prevented by Indisposition, and I have already stated that Her Royal Highness, by His desire took the Sacrament with Him on the 28th Dec^r. The

The visits of H. R. H. numerous and attached Friends were frequent, and they were invariably received with satisfaction and with an expression of his sense of their attention. Upon these occasions He exerted himself to meet them cheerfully, and to suppress the expression of Pain or Bodily uneasiness, and They often left Him with the Belief that He was free from both, altho this had by no means been the Case.

Nor did H. R. H.'s bodily suffering or the Contemplation of his critical state diminish in any degree the Interest which He had ever taken in the State of Public Affairs, and in the welfare and Prosperity of His Country. These were at all times uppermost in His Mind, and I am convinced that they often engaged it in a much greater Degree than did His own Situation --

Hayden

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